

Message Text

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SUBJECT: JAPANESE LDP DIETMEN'S VIEW ON INDOCHINA, KOREA AND US-J
SECURITY

SUMMARY: CONCERNING LATEST INDOCHINA SITUATION AND ITS EFFECTS
ON KOREA AND JAPAN'S SECURITY, NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN INTERVIEWED
46 MEMBERS OF LOWER HOUSE REPRESENTATIVES BELONGING TO LDP FOREIGN
POLICY RESEARCH COUNCIL. GROUP HAS STRONG VOICE IN FORMULATION
OF JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY. THOSE POLITICANS INTERVIEWED HELD
GENERAL VIEW THAT (A) COLLAPSE THIEU REGIME CAUSED BY COMBINATION
OF FACTORS SUCH AS U.S. MILITARY PULLOUT, CORRUPTION SAIGON REGIME
AND RISING NATIONALISM; (B) THERE IS LITTLE POSSIBILITY SIMILAR
SITUATION MAY OCCUR IN KOREAN PENINSULA; AND (C) GREAT MAJORITY
RESPONDENTS DID NOT SEE ANY NEED TO REVISE PRESENT GOJ POLICY OF
MAINTAINING JAPAN'S SECURITY BY MEANS OF BOTH US-J SECURITY SETUP
AND OWN SELF-DEFENSE SYSTEM. THEY ALSO DID NOT SEE NEED FOR
CHANGES IN WHAT IS CALLED THREE-POINT NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLE, BUT
CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS EXPRESSED VIEW THAT "PROHIBITION
AGAINST INTRODUCTION NUCLEAR ARMS IN JAPAN" SHOULD BE MADE MORE
FLEXIBLE.

1. Q1. WHAT IS THE PRINCIPAL REASON FOR THE COLLAPSE OF
SAIGON -- US MILITARY PULLOUT, INSIDE CORRUPTION, OR VIOLATION BY
NORTH OF PARIS PEACE AGREEMENT? (ASKED OF 46 POLITICIANS WITH
SOME MULTIPLE ANSWERS):

(A) SELF-DISINTEGRATION OF REGIME BY OWN CAUSES, 26; (B) VICTORY
OF NATIONALISM, 13; (C) US MILITARY PULLOUT, 11; (D) VIOLATION OF
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PEACE AGREEMENT BY NORTH, 4; (E) OTHER 2.

2. Q2. DO YOU THINK WHAT HAPPENED IN INDOCHINA IS LIKELY TO
HAPPEN AGAIN IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA?

(A) UNLIKELY TO HAPPEN, 30; (B) LIKELY TO HAPPEN, 8; (C) TENSION WILL INCREASE/EFFECTS WILL APPEAR, 6; (D) BETTER USE CAUTION, 1; (E) NEEDS SOME CONSIDERATION, 1.

3. DO YOU AGREE WITH VIEW THAT ROK IS A "LIFE LINE" FOR THE SECURITY OF JAPAN?:

(A) ROK IS JAPAN'S LIFE LINE, 9; (B) IT IS AN EXTREMELY IMPORTANT AREA, 5; (C) PEACE IN WHOLE KOREAN PENINSULA RATHER THAN ROK ALONE IS IMPORTANT FOR JAPAN, 4; (D) ROK IS A BULWARK, 1; (E) WHETHER THE PENINSULA HAS A FRIENDLY OR UNFRIENDLY REGIME TOWARD JAPAN MAY GREATLY AFFECT JAPANESE POLICIES AND DIPLOMACY, 1; (F) AGAINST THESE AFFIRMATIVE REPLIES, A TOTAL OF 8 RESPONDENTS OBJECTED TO USE OF THE TERM "LIFE LINE."

4. Q3. IN ORDER TO COPE WITH SUDDEN CHANGES IN INDOCHINESE SITUATION, DO YOU FEEL IT NECESSARY TO MODIFY JAPANESE SECURITY POLITICS WITH REGARD TO THE THREE-POINT NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLE, THE US-JAPAN SECURITY ARRANGEMENT, AND STRENGTHENING OF SELF-DEFENSE SYSTEM? (A) ANY NEED TO MODIFY 3-POINT NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLE?:

44 POLITICIANS INCLUDING HAWKISH POLITICIANS EXPRESSED VIEW THAT "THERE IS NO NEED TO MODIFY THE THREE-POINT NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLE." HOWEVER, A QUARTER OF THEM WANTED A "FLEXIBLE APPLICATION" OF PROHIBITION AGAINST BRINGING IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS. SOME REASONS GIVEN WERE, "WE CANNOT ASK U.S. TO PROTECT JAPAN IF WE SAY 'NO' DURING PRIOR CONSULTATIONS ABOUT BRINGING IN NUCLEAR ARMS," AND "US-J SECURITY TREATY MAY BECOME USELESS IF 'NUCLEAR ARMS CANNOT BE BROUGHT IN' IN THE EVENT OF EMERGENCY." REPS NAOMI NISHIMURA AND JUNICHIRO KOISUMI REPLIED "INTERPRETATION OF NOT BRINGING-IN NUCLEAR ARMS SHOULD BE LIMITED TO TERRITORIAL LAND ONLY," THUS GIVING LEEWAY FOR U.S. NUCLEAR ARMED WARSHIPS AND TRANSIT BY AIRCRAFT IN TERRITORIAL WATERS AND AIR. NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN ANALYZED THAT "IN SPITE OF THE THREE-POINT NON-NUCLEAR PRINCIPLE, THERE APPEARS TO BE A CONSIDERABLE NUMBER OF LDP DIETMEN WHO ARE INSISTING ON 'GIVING ROOM FOR BRINGING-IN NUCLEAR ARMS IN CASE OF EMERGENCY.'"

5. (B) ANY NEED TO REVISE JAPANESE POLICY OF RELYING ON US-J UNCLASSIFIED

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SECURITY PACT?: AN OVERWHELMING 43 REPS REPLIED "NO NEED FOR ITS REVISION." BUT AMONG THEM WERE SEEN CERTAIN DIFFERENCES OF OPINIONS BETWEEN HAWKS AND DOVES. SOME HAWKISH OPINIONS: "WE HAVE TO DEPEND ON AMERICA FOR THE DEFENSE OF OUR COUNTRY" (TATSUO TANAKA); "JAPAN APPEARS TOO SELFISH IN RELYING ON THE SECURITY TREATY" (NAKA FUNADA); "IT IS DESIRABLE TO GIVE MORE TEETH TO THE SECURITY TREATY ALTHOUGH DIFFICULT TO IMPLEMENT IN VIEW OF CURRENT PARLIAMENTARY STRENGTH" (NAOMI NISHIMURA); "I DON'T LIKE THE WAY FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA, IN CONNECTION WITH PRESENTATION OF NPT RATIFICATION BILL TO THE DIET, ASKED AMERICA TO CONFIRM ITS COMMITMENTS TO PROTECT JAPAN WHILE OFFERING NOTHING IN RETURN" (SEISUKE OKUNO). ON OTHER HAND DOVES EMPHASIZED JAPANESE INDEPENDENT DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS RATHER THAN STRENGTHENING

OF US-J SECURITY TREATY. EXAMPLES: "JAPAN SHOULD MORE ACTIVELY ADVISE AMERICA ON ITS ASIAN POLICIES" (AIICHIRO FUJIYAMA); "SHOULD ASSERT AN ASIAN POLICY WHICH IS MADE IN JAPAN" (SHIGETARO SASAYAMA). SOME HAWKS WERE TAKING A CRITICAL VIEW OF JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY. "RATHER THAN MEANINGLESSLY ARGUING THE STRENGTHENING OF THE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT, THE FIRST THING FOR JAPAN TO DO IS PUT JAPANESE FOREIGN POLICY ON SOLID FOUNDATION" (EIICHI NAKAO). THERE WERE ONLY THREE ANSWERS FAVORING "REVISION OF JAPANESE SECURITY POLICY." REASONS GIVEN WERE: "A COMPREHENSIVE SECURITY ARRANGEMENT INVOLVING SINO-JAPANESE AND US-JAPAN SECURITY SYSTEMS" (KOICHI KATO); "STRENGTHENING OF DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY IN NON-MILITARY SECTORS" (SEIICHI TAGAWA).

5. (C) NEED FOR STRENGTHENING OF SELF-DEFENSE CAPABILITY?: EXCEPT SEVEN POLITICIANS WHO WERE EXPLICIT ABOUT STRENGTHENING JAPANESE SELF-DEFENSE SETUP, A MAJORITY WANTED TO MAINTAIN PRESENT STRENGTH OR "DID NOT SEE NEED FOR STRENGTHENING." REASONS GIVEN FOR STRONGER SELF-DEFENSE WERE; "STRENGTHENING MAY BECOME INEVITABLE WITH RETREAT OF US ASIAN PRESENCE" (SHUTARO MATSUURA); "ITS STRENGTH IS CURRENTLY TOO WEAK AND UNPREPARED FOR EMERGENCY" (NAOKICHI KITAWA, UICHI NODA). REASONS GIVEN FOR NEGATIVE REPLIES WERE: "TO INSPIRE MEN WITH WILL TO DEFEND THE NATION IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN EQUIPPING THEM WITH ARMS" (YOZO KATO); "IMPROVEMENT OF (DEFENSE) CONSCIOUSNESS RATHER THAN OF ARMS" (ZENTARO KOSAKA); "PRESENT STRENGTH MAY SUFFICE IF QUALITATIVELY IMPROVED" (NAKA FUNADA); AND "NO NEED FOR FORCED STRENGTHENING IN THE LIGHT OF ECONOMIC REALITY SHIFTING TOWARD A STABLE GROWTH" (KEIJIRO SHOJI).
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